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## GREEK AND ROMAN WEATHER LORE OF THE SEA

(Continued from page 13)

### THE SAMOTHRACIAN GODS

We have seen that there was some popular association of the Samothracian gods with Castor and Pollux<sup>204</sup>. Varro<sup>205</sup> says that men in general meant these twin gods when they spoke of the Samothracian gods.

The Samothracian gods were invoked during storms at sea. On one occasion during the Argonautic expedition the winds ceased after Orpheus addressed himself to them<sup>206</sup>. Offerings were made to them after escapes from storms<sup>207</sup>.

Persons who had been initiated into the mysteries of the Cabeiria on the Island of Samothrace were supposed to be safeguarded from perils in general, including those of storms at sea<sup>208</sup>. As already noted<sup>209</sup>, the Argonauts landed on the island in order to undergo initiation, that they might continue their adventure more safely. Magical properties seem to have been attributed to the purple band which initiates wore around the waist<sup>210</sup>.

It seems that in Rhodes a journey by sea might be the occasion for a group or an association to place itself under the protection of the sea gods of Samothrace and Lemnos<sup>211</sup>.

### METHODS OF SHOWING GRATITUDE FOR SALVATION

A thankful traveler or sailor who had made a safe journey or escaped the terrors of a storm showed his gratitude in some way or other. He might set up an inscription such as *Neptuno Ex Voto Cn. Gelasus*<sup>212</sup>.

... Three persons with Roman names give thanks in Lesbos to God on High for deliverance after a tempest. Eutychus, who may have been a skipper, returns thanks at Delos to Fair-Weather Zeus and the Egyptian deities, on behalf of himself and his son and all on board<sup>213</sup>.

The custom of making such offerings is familiar to all

<sup>204</sup>See the text connected with note 176, above.

<sup>205</sup>De Lingua Latina 5.58. On the confusion of the Dioscuri with the Cabeiri see the article Cabiri, by F. Lenormant, in Daremberg-Saglio, 1.763, and the article Dioscuri, by Maurice Albert, *ibidem*, 2.257-258.

<sup>206</sup>Diodorus 4.48.6.

<sup>207</sup>Greek Anthology 6.164. Compare Callimachus, Epigrams 48 (= Greek Anthology 6.301).

<sup>208</sup>Scholium on Aristophanes, Pax 277; Scholia on Apollonius Rhodius 1.917-918. It is stated in Orphic Hymns 38 that the Curetes, who dwell in Samothrace, protect those upon the sea (the Orphic Hymns may be consulted conveniently in the edition cited in note 110, above).

<sup>209</sup>See the text connected with note 109, above.

<sup>210</sup>Scholium on Apollonius Rhodius 1.917.

<sup>211</sup>See F. Hiller von Gaertringen, Die Samothrakischen Götter in Rhodos und Karpathos, Mittheilungen des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abtheilung, 18 (1893), 386. For further information in regard to the weather activities of the Samothracian gods see Daremberg-Saglio, under Cabiri, 1.763; Bloch, in Roscher, 2.2532, under Megaloi Theoi; Kern, in Pauly-Wissowa, 10.1430-1435, under Kabeiroi und Kabeiroi.

<sup>212</sup>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 6.534. Compare Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum 3, Part I, 236; H. Collitz, Griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften, 3.3776 (Göttingen, 1884-1910).

<sup>213</sup>Rouse, 230 (see note 143, above). On page 229, note 4, Dr. Rouse gives interesting references to similar material.

readers of the Classics. Sometimes they are in fulfillment of vows. The continuation of the quotation given above is doubtless thoroughly representative of ancient Greek practice<sup>214</sup>:

... In Delos also, and to Anubis, Demetrius of Sidon dedicates a part of the ship's deck, which we may suppose to have saved his life when the ship went to pieces. There is a relief with a boat upon it, dedicated to the Dioscuri, which possibly is a seaman's thank-offering. In the second century after Christ, Artemidorus and his family dedicate a relief, representing a sacrificial scene, for deliverance at sea.

Perhaps a silver trireme in the Delian shrine may be a sailor's thank-offering. In the same treasury were silver anchors and a ship's beak, and a beak there was also in the shrine of Hero Iatrus at Athens. No doubt the images of Calm and of the Sea, which were dedicated to Poseidon at the Isthmus, had reference to perils upon the deep. A dedication by an admiral Pantaleon to "Poseidon saviour of ships and to Aphrodite mistress of ships" was found at Kertch. Some of the paintings in the temple of Phocaea may have been thank-offerings of seafarers, which depicted perils on the deep.

The votive group of Arion upon a dolphin, which was set up at Taenarum, commemorates a unique experience<sup>215</sup>. After Arion had leaped from a ship in which pirates had been holding him captive and had gone about five hundred stades, he perceived that there was a calm behind him. It had doubtless been caused by divine agency to prevent pursuit. Arion was carried to safety by a dolphin<sup>216</sup>.

In a modern Greek story a friendly fish effects a rescue in a manner not less striking. Among the countless offerings in the temple of the wonder-working icon of the Island of Tinos there is a conspicuous full-rigged ship made of silver<sup>217</sup>.

... One day, during a storm off Marseilles, the captain of a Greek brig found his vessel rapidly filling with water, which gained on the pumps so fast that sinking was imminent. A supplication to the Virgin resulted in the immediate cessation of the inflow, and port was safely reached. An examination of the hull revealed a huge fish tightly plugging the hole which had been the cause of the dangerous leak!

The temple which Lucius Cornelius Scipio dedicated to the Tempestates<sup>218</sup> (or to Tempestas<sup>219</sup>) was probably the fulfillment of a vow made in 259 B. C. when his fleet was almost overwhelmed by a storm during the struggle with the Carthaginians for possession of Corsica and Sardinia<sup>220, 221</sup>.

<sup>214</sup>Pausanias 3.25.7; Herodotus 1.24; Aelian, De Natura Animalium 12.45.

<sup>215</sup>Plutarch, Moralia 162 A. I have found the account of the calm in this passage only.

<sup>216</sup>G. Horton, 50 (see note 140, above). An incident hardly less miraculous is narrated on pages 42-43.

<sup>217</sup>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 1.32 (page 18), 6.1287 (page 283).

<sup>218</sup>Ovid, Fasti 6.193-194.

<sup>219</sup>See Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, 1, page 18. Contrast the action of Augustus (Suetonius, Augustus 16.2) who, after having lost a fleet in a storm, removed the statue of Poseidon from the sacred procession on the next occasion when there were games in the Circus.

<sup>220</sup>It is not stated when the storm occurred.

There was good precedent for all these manifestations of gratitude for salvation from the perils of the sea, since Deucalion, after drifting on the waters for nine days and nine nights, made sacrifice to Zeus, 'the god of escape' (Ζεύς Φόβιος)<sup>220</sup>.

Survivors of a storm might have their experiences painted on tablets, which they then hung up in temples<sup>221</sup>. Sometimes, to aid them in appeals for charity, survivors carried about pictures of their hairbreadth escapes. A passage from Persius<sup>222</sup> may serve to illustrate the use of such tablets in begging:

quippe et, cantet si naufragus, assem  
protulerim. Cantas cum fracta te in trabe pictum  
ex umero portes?

Sailors who had narrow escapes from the perils of storm and shipwreck had a custom of shaving their heads on reaching safety, as we learn from Juvenal<sup>223</sup>:

Sed trunca puppe magister  
interiora petit Baianae pervia cumbae  
tuti stagna sinus. Gaudent ibi vertice raso  
garrula securi narrare pericula nautae.

The association of shaved heads and *garrula pericula* was familiar, for Lucian<sup>224</sup> speaks of

... mariners who, duly cropped, gather at the doors of a temple, with their tale of stormy seas and monster waves and promontories, castings out of cargoes, snappings of masts, shatterings of rudders; ending with the appearance of those twin brethren indispensable to nautical story, or of some other *deus ex machina*, who, seated at the masthead or standing at the helm, guides the vessel to some sandy shore....

#### THE DIVINE USE OF THE ELEMENTS IN PUNISHMENT AND RETRIBUTION

Upon the sea as upon the land the gods made use of the elements in showing their displeasure. The belief that the gods employed such means of punishing man is well illustrated by two anecdotes. When Diagoras was fleeing from Athens, he heard fellow-passengers say that the storm which overtook them was due to their having him, an atheist, on board. Pointing to other ships struggling with the same storm, he asked whether they too had a Diagoras aboard<sup>225</sup>. Bias was equally clever. On hearing some impious men calling upon the gods at sea, he admonished them thus: 'Be silent, lest they learn that you are sailing here'<sup>226</sup>.

The facility with which control of the weather might be ascribed to almost any divine being is well illustrated by a curious epigram in the Greek Anthology<sup>227</sup>:

Now nearing my country I said: "To-morrow shall this wind that blew so long against me abate." Scarce had I closed my lips when the sea became like hell, and

that light word I spoke was my destruction. Beware ever of that word "to-morrow"; not even little things are unnoticed by the Nemesis that is the foe of our tongues.

Neptune went out of his way to punish an evil-doer. Bellerophon, whose services in killing the warlike Chimarrhus had gone unrewarded by Iobates, King of Lycia, made earnest supplication to Neptune to render the country barren and unfruitful. When the hero faced about, the waves followed him and overwhelmed the land<sup>228</sup>.

The gods used the elements as a means of visiting punishment in warfare also. When Pyrrhus was passing by Locri on his return from Sicily, he plundered the treasury of Athena in that city. On the following day his fleet was damaged by a frightful tempest, and all the ships that were carrying the sacred money were driven upon the shore. From this calamity that proud king learned that gods actually do exist<sup>229</sup>. It will be recalled that the mutilation of the Hermae just before the departure of the Sicilian expedition was accounted a bad sign<sup>230</sup>. It was not necessarily connected with the weather, although storms in Sicily did add to the confusion of the Athenian retreat and to the severity of the disaster<sup>231</sup>.

After rescuing Cyzicus from siege by Mithridates Lucullus hastened in pursuit of him. In his eagerness to reach the security of Pontus, Mithridates put to sea with his armament. He was overtaken by a storm which destroyed some vessels and disabled others. The storm was attributed to the wrath of Artemis, who wished, it was thought, to avenge the plundering of her shrine and the overthrow of her image<sup>232</sup>.

On the day of the Battle of Philippi Domitius Calvinus was bringing two legions and other reinforcements to Octavian on transport ships when Marcus and Ahenobarbus intercepted them with one hundred and thirty galleys. Some of the foremost transports escaped, but, when the wind suddenly fell, the rest were caught in a dead calm and were delivered into the hands of the enemy by some god<sup>233</sup>.

The final blow that broke the ebbing morale of the Carthaginians in 201 B. C. was the destruction of their fleet by wind and storm. Then they accused the gods of conspiring against them and were willing to accept Scipio's terms<sup>234</sup>.

Sometimes the gods responded to appeals of nations to bring destruction upon the fleets of their enemies. When the threat of Xerxes's fleet was becoming imminent, the Delphians consulted the oracle with regard to themselves and Greece in general. They were advised to pray to the winds to become mighty allies of the Greeks. They set up an altar to the winds at Thyia, where the custom of appeasing the winds was still in vogue in the days of Herodotus<sup>235</sup>. The Athenians made sacrifice and called upon Boreas and Orithyia to destroy the ships of the Persians. Herodotus him-

<sup>220</sup>Apollodorus 1.7.2. See also Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum, 2, page 300, No. 2374, lines 6-7 (edited by August Boeck, Berlin, Reimer, 1843). There Deucalion is said to have sacrificed salvation offerings. Zeus is also called Ζωρῆς because of his guardianship over those at sea. See Athenaeus 292 B-C.

<sup>221</sup>See, for example, Horace, Carmina 1.5.13-16, Ars Poetica 20-21; Juvenal 14.302; Vergil, Aeneid 12.766-769. See also the text connected with note 366, below. Such pictures were dedicated in shrines of Isis, too. See Juvenal 12.27.

<sup>222</sup>1.88-90. See also 6.32-33; Phaedrus 4.21.24-25.

<sup>223</sup>12.79-82. See also Greek Anthology 6.164 (The Loeb Classical Library, 1.383); Lucian, Hermotimus 86; Nonius 848 (in W. M. Lindsay's edition).

<sup>224</sup>De Merce Conductis 1 (I give the translation by H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler [Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1905]).

<sup>225</sup>Cicero, De Natura Deorum 3.89.

<sup>226</sup>Diogenes Laertius, Bias 1.86.

<sup>227</sup>7.630. I give W. R. Paton's translation, in The Loeb Classical Library.

<sup>228</sup>Plutarch, Moralia 247 A, 247 F-248 B.

<sup>229</sup>Livy 29.18.3-6. <sup>230</sup>Plutarch, Alcibiades 18.

<sup>231</sup>Thucydides 6.70.1. Compare 7.79.3.

<sup>232</sup>Plutarch, Lucullus 13.1-4.

<sup>233</sup>Appian, Bellum Civile 4.115.

<sup>234</sup>Appian, Romana Historia 8.56.

<sup>235</sup>Herodotus 7.178. See also Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromata 6.3.

self was unable to say whether the action of Boreas in falling upon the ships at anchor at Cape Sepias<sup>236</sup> was an answer to prayer, but the Athenians had no doubt that, as at Athos, Boreas had again intervened in their behalf, and hence they erected a sanctuary to him beside the Ilissus<sup>237</sup>. Later the storm and the destruction of Persian vessels were attributed to divine intervention<sup>238</sup>. The Athenians had as much justification for their views on this subject<sup>239</sup> as had the people of England in seeing the hand of the Deity in the calamity which befell the Spanish Armada, in 1588<sup>240</sup>.

Another sixteenth-century storm which ended the menace of an invasion occurred much nearer to Cape Sepias<sup>241</sup>:

A reputation for magic and miraculous happenings has overhung the island of Tinos for countless years. As an instance may be mentioned the mysterious naked woman who mounted a cliff about 1570, on the appearance of a hostile Turkish fleet, and, raising her hands to heaven, besought the wind known as Garbinos (now called Garbes) to blow and disperse it. A fearful storm immediately broke out, which sank most of the ships, drowning a great number of those on board. The remainder were taken prisoners and made slaves.

#### MAGIC

The elements could be stilled by songs and by enchanted words. Arion's gifted music soothed the waters<sup>242</sup>, and Orpheus had the power of lulling to sleep the howling winds and hail and the drifting snow and the roaring sea<sup>243</sup>. Such compliments to the efficacy of music seem sufficiently extravagant, but the song which Simonides<sup>244</sup> composed to the winds caused them submissively to 'accompany the strains <of the singer>: ἀκολουθεῖ εὐθὺς τοῖς μέλεσι' and, blowing upon the stern of the ship, to help it onward in its course.

Not less miraculous was the ability of Thessalian witches to make the sea unmindful of raging Notus or to stir it up when the winds were at rest<sup>245</sup>. The Gallicenae could arouse the billows<sup>246</sup>. Medea had similar powers<sup>247</sup>. She gave Jason a charm or incantation which, when it was spoken three times, was powerful enough to cause calm sleep, and to allay a sea disturbed or a river in commotion<sup>248</sup>.

The population of Constantinople once held an indignation meeting when they believed that a certain Sopater had bound favorable winds and thus prevented the arrival of grain transports. The people persuaded the Emperor to give orders for him to be killed<sup>249</sup>.

A more modern weather magician is Prospero, with

<sup>236</sup>When the wind was raging at Cape Sepias, the Persians resorted to incantations and sacrifice, and the wind stopped on the fourth day. See Herodotus 7.191.

<sup>237</sup>Herodotus 7.189. <sup>238</sup>Herodotus 8.13.

<sup>239</sup>See Pausanias 8.27.14. 8.36.6 for a somewhat similar incident in which the North Wind saves the Megalopolitans. See an interesting passage in P. Stengel, *Der Cult der Winde*, *Hermes* 35 (1900), 627-635.

<sup>240</sup>A medal struck by Queen Elizabeth to commemorate the defeat of the Spanish Armada bears the inscription *Afflavit deus et dissipantur*. See J. R. Green, *History of the English People*, 2.446 (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1878). Green translates the inscription by "The Lord sent his wind, and scattered them".

<sup>241</sup>Horton, 32-33 (see note 140, above).

<sup>242</sup>Ovid, *Fasti* 2.84, 116.

<sup>243</sup>Greek Anthology 7.8. See also Horace, *Carmina* 1.12.7-10; Seneca, *Hercules Furens* 573.

<sup>244</sup>As quoted by Himerius, *Oratio* 3.14. <sup>245</sup>Lucan 6.469-471.

<sup>246</sup>Pomponius Mela 3.6. <sup>247</sup>Valerius Flaccus 8.351-352.

<sup>248</sup>Ovid, *Metamorphoses* 7.153-154.

<sup>249</sup>Eunapius, *Vitae Sophistarum* 41.

whom his daughter Miranda pleads in *The Tempest*<sup>250</sup>:

If by your art, my dearest father, you have  
Put the wild waters in this roar, allay them.

In our own land Goody Cole, as pictured by Whittier in the *Wreck of Rivermouth*, was supposed to have power to stir up storms:

"She's cursed," said the skipper; "speak her fair:  
I'm scary always to see her shake  
Her wicked head with its wild gray hair  
And nose like a hawk, and eyes like a snake."

Another American writer, R. H. Dana, tells us, in *Two Years Before the Mast*<sup>251</sup>, that he found the cook "fully possessed with the notion that Fins are wizards and especially have power over winds and storms".

#### OBSEQUIOUS WATERS

In the oration On the Manilian Law Cicero<sup>252</sup> proclaims, with a flourish, that even the winds and the storms favored Pompey. Many examples of similar ideas which were entertained with more or less credulity might be cited.

Along the sea beyond Phaselis in Pamphylia the beach was impassable when south winds were blowing, but it offered a quick and convenient journey when the north winds forced the waters to recede. As Alexander was leading a detachment along the coast, strong north winds overpowered the winds from the south and made the passage easy, a phenomenon which helped to create the impression that Heaven was aiding the youthful conqueror<sup>253</sup>.

In midwinter the Adriatic Sea yielded to Caesar and became navigable and quiet<sup>254</sup>.

The crossings of the Euphrates are rich in story. When none of Cyrus the Younger's men got wet above the breast in fording it, the people of Thapsacus said it had never before been crossed on foot. 'It seemed, accordingly, that here was a divine intervention, and that the river had plainly retired before Cyrus because he was destined to be king'<sup>255</sup>.

On reaching the same stream Lucullus was dismayed to find it swollen and turbid from winter storms, but at evening the waters began to subside and by daybreak islands and lofty banks were visible. The natives declared that such a thing had seldom happened before and explained that the river had made itself tame for Lucullus<sup>256</sup>.

When Vitellius was sacrificing for a favorable crossing of the Euphrates, the people in the neighborhood said that without any rain the river had overflowed its banks and turned around, so that encircling eddies had caused the foam to form in the shape of a crown, a seemingly favorable omen<sup>257</sup>.

Long before these events the swollen waters of a river in the land of Alcinous had subsided when Ulysses prayed to the river god<sup>258</sup>.

Rivers might show disfavor as well as favor. As a

<sup>250</sup>1.2.3-4. <sup>251</sup>Near the end of Chapter VI. <sup>252</sup>48.

<sup>253</sup>Arrian 1.26. Compare Plutarch, *Alexander* 17.3. For another example of the kindness of the weather to Alexander see Appian, *Civil Wars* 2.149.

<sup>254</sup>Appian, *Civil Wars* 2.150. Compare Plutarch, *Caesar* 38.3.

<sup>255</sup>Xenophon, *Anabasis* 1.4.17-18.

<sup>256</sup>Plutarch, *Lucullus* 24.4-5.

<sup>257</sup>Tacitus, *Annales* 6.37. <sup>258</sup>Odyssey 5.441-452.



woman started to wade into the Jordan, the waters withdrew from her and recoiled against the opposite bank. When she was asked what wrong she had done, she replied, 'Seven little children to which I gave birth I have already slain. Conceiving them in incest, I was afraid to acknowledge them. The eighth I beat black and blue yesterday'<sup>269</sup>.

The ancients, too, used oil to make the sea clear and to calm it<sup>260</sup>. This item, however, is a little aside from the subject of my paper.

#### STONES AS PROTECTION AT SEA

A person carrying a *lapis ceraunius* at sea was safe from bolts and squalls<sup>261</sup>. In general, stones that fell from heaven had several magical properties, one of which was the power of protecting sailors in storms<sup>262</sup>.

#### ANIMAL LIFE AND THE SEA

Seal skins at mast heads afforded security<sup>263</sup>. The *remora*, when it was attached to the bottom of a vessel, enabled it to ride safely through violent storms<sup>264</sup>. Doubtless this is sympathetic magic, for it may be assumed that the sluggishness and steadfastness implied in the name of the fish were supposed to impart the same qualities to the ship. There was also a belief that ships sailed more slowly when they had on board the right foot of a turtle, one of the few extravagant stories which Pliny<sup>265</sup> found *incredible dictu*.

Not less marvelous are the powers attributed to the halcyon. The sailors' beliefs about it are told in an interesting manner by St. Ambrose, evidently from first-hand acquaintance with seamen. The halcyon, he says, breeds almost in the middle of the winter, at a time when the sea is roughest and the waves are dashing violently against the shores, that the esteem for it amid the solemnity of the sudden calm may be greater. When the eggs are laid, the sea quickly becomes mild, squalls subside, breezes cease to blow, and the main stands free of wind until the eggs are hatched seven days later. Still another calm period of seven days is needed to nourish and to rear the young. During the fourteen days, halcyon days, as the sailors call them, there is no fear of storms at sea<sup>266</sup>.

#### OTHER LORE OF STORMS CAUSED AND CONTROLLED

There was a nautical tradition that at sea no one should cut hair or nails except when the wind was angry<sup>267</sup>. Petronius<sup>268</sup> tells of a passenger who saw a

barber carrying out his unseasonable ministrations on board ship. He execrated the act as an evil omen because it suggested the last resource of those in peril of shipwreck. The master of the ship wanted the guilty persons summoned that he might know by whose heads (*capitibus*) the ship was to be purified<sup>269</sup>. Among seamen even dreaming that the head had been shaved was a clear prognostic of shipwreck<sup>270</sup>.

There was also a belief, which was apparently widespread, that failure to observe chastity at sea endangered the ship and those on board. In the time of Achilles Tatius<sup>270a</sup> seamen were often heard giving expression to a superstition of this kind. The orator Antiphon<sup>270b</sup> tells us that those who embarked with unclean hands or otherwise contaminated brought death upon holy persons aboard as well as upon themselves. I do not find any mention of storms in this connection, but they were naturally the most frequent causes of danger and death at sea.

After the Battle of Philippi the head of Brutus was severed from his body to be taken to Rome. On the voyage across the Adriatic Sea it was thrown into the waters in an effort to appease a storm<sup>271</sup>. Tempests at sea might be averted by a nude woman *etiam sine menstru*<sup>272</sup>.

#### FIGHTING THE SEA

We are told that the Germans assailed the sea with swords<sup>273</sup> and that the Celts fought the waves<sup>274</sup>, but Strabo<sup>275</sup> says it is not true that the Cimbri took up arms against the flood tides. Xerxes attempted to punish the unruly Hellespont by beating it with three hundred lashes; he also attempted to shackle it<sup>276</sup>. Such stories are in keeping with other lore about fighting the elements in general<sup>277</sup>.

King Canute was much wiser than Xerxes. When the tide refused to obey his command to stop, he drew the moral lesson that no one is worthy of the name of king except Him whom heaven, earth, and sea obey<sup>278</sup>.

#### WEATHER SIGNS OBSERVABLE ALONG AND UPON THE SEA

In previous papers I have listed numerous signs of the weather derived by seamen and seafarers from the actions of animals, birds, and fish<sup>279</sup>. One ancient writer<sup>280</sup> explains that 'the inhabitants of the waves' (*undarum incolae*) are able to foretell the weather because the water is always influenced by the rising wind. They are the first to feel a change in the sea.

<sup>269</sup>Compare the words of Neptune (Vergil, Aeneid 5.815), *Unum pro multis dabitur caput*.

<sup>270</sup>Artemidorus 1.22. <sup>270a</sup>5.16.

<sup>270b</sup>5.82. Compare St. Ambrose, De Noe et Arca Liber Unus, 21.76 (Migne, P. L., 14.397).

<sup>271</sup>Dio 47.49.2. See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 25.206 A.

<sup>272</sup>Pliny 28.77. <sup>273</sup>Philo Iudaeus, De Somniis 2.17.

<sup>274</sup>Aristotle, Ethica Eudemia 3.1.25; Aelian, Varia Historia 12.23. <sup>275</sup>2.1.

<sup>276</sup>Herodotus 7.35; Arrian 7.14.5; Plutarch, Moralia 455 D, 470 E. Compare Juvenal 10.180.

<sup>277</sup>See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 18.165 B; 25.208 B.

<sup>278</sup>Henry of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum 6.17. This work may be found in Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland During the Middle Ages, 74.189.

<sup>279</sup>See especially THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 14.97-98, 16.5, 24.23. A number of good modern examples is given on pages 480-481 of an article by Walter Gregor, Weather Folk-Lore of the Sea, Folk-Lore 2 (1891), 468-482. See also A. S. Rappoport, Superstitions of Sailors, 70-71 (London, Stanley Paul and Company, 1928).

<sup>280</sup>Isidorus, De Natura Rerum 38.1.

<sup>269</sup>Gregory of Tours, Miraculorum Liber I, De Gloria Martyrum 88 (Migne, P. L., 71.783). In Joshua 3.15-17, the waters of the Jordan are described as standing and rising up, so that the Israelites passed over on dry ground.

<sup>260</sup>Plutarch, Moralia 914 F-915 A, 950 B; Michaelis Psellus, De Omifaria Doctrina 133 (Migne, P. G., 122.768).

<sup>261</sup>Damigeron 12.

<sup>262</sup>Marbodaeus, De Lapidibus 428-445. This work is to be found in a supplement to Abrahami Gorlaei Dactyliothecae, Part II (Leyden, 1695).

<sup>263</sup>See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.7 A.

<sup>264</sup>See THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 16.7 A. See also Lucan 6.674-675. The virtues of the *echinus* are highly praised in Eustathii Hexameri Metaphrasis Liber VII, 5 (Migne, P. G., 30.944; compare 18.726).

<sup>265</sup>Pliny 32.41.

<sup>266</sup>Hexameron Liber V, 41 (Migne, P. L., 14.224). For other references to the effect of the halcyon on the weather see Vergil, Georgics 1.399; Ovid, Metamorphoses 11.410-478, 745-748; Plutarch, Moralia 983 A. See also D. W. Thompson, A Glossary of Greek Birds, 30 (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1895).

<sup>267</sup>Petronius 104. <sup>268</sup>Petronius 103-105.

Hence they struggle against it through fear, that they may not be carried to the shore, or through instinct, that they may not be overwhelmed when they are not facing its might.

Vergil lists a number of signs which should serve as warnings that the waves will not deal gently with boats upon them<sup>281</sup>:

Iam sibi tum curvis male temperat unda carinis,  
cum medio celeres revolant ex aequore mergi  
clamoremque ferunt ad litora, cumque marinae  
in sicco ludunt fulicae, notasque paludes  
deserit atque altam supra volat ardea nubem.  
Saepe etiam stellas vento independente videbis  
praecipitis caelo labi, noctisque per umbram  
flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus;  
saepe levem paleam et frondes volitare caducas,  
aut summa nantes in aqua concludere plumas.  
At Boreae de parte truci cum fulminat et cum  
Eurique Zephyrique tonat domus, omnia plenis  
rura natant fossis, atque omnis navita ponto  
umida vela legit.

Some of these signs have to do with the water only; others are general in their application. They may be compared with the warnings marshaled by a weather seer in Victor Hugo, *Toilers of the Sea*<sup>282</sup>, in order to dissuade a captain from setting sail:

"If it was my case, I shouldn't, Captain Clubin. The hair of the dog's coat feels damp. For two nights past the sea-birds have been flying wildly round the lantern of the light-house: a bad sign. I have a storm-glass, too, which gives me a warning. The moon is at her second quarter; it is the maximum of humidity. I noticed to-day some pimpnells with their leaves shut, and a field of clover with its stalks all stiff. The worms come out of the ground to-day; the flies sting; the bees keep close to their hives; the sparrows chatter together. You can hear the sound of bells from far off. I heard to-night the Angelus of St. Lunaire. And then the sun set angry. There will be a good fog to-morrow, mark my words. I don't advise you to put to sea. I dread the fog a good deal more than a hurricane. It's a nasty neighbor, that."

Among the ancients who lived upon the water, or near it, there naturally grew up a vast body of weather wisdom, some of which reflects the character of their lives. Vegetius<sup>283</sup> says that the air and the sea itself and the size and the appearance of clouds instruct the anxious seamen. In a brief for a knowledge of weather signs Eustathius<sup>284</sup> points out that those who are about to put to sea may keep their ships within the harbor when they foresee perils to come.

Theophrastus<sup>285</sup> makes the following observations about several aspects of the sea:

... The ebb-tide indicates a north wind, the flowing tide a wind from the south. For, if the flowing tide sets from the north, there is a change to the south, and if an ebb-tide comes from the south, there is a change to the north. It is a sign of wind when the sea has a swell or promontories moan or there is a loud noise on the beach. ...

<sup>281</sup>Georgics 1.360-373.

<sup>282</sup>1.218 (see note 201, above). The passage may readily be found in any edition by consulting Part I, Book V, Chapter IX.

<sup>283</sup>4.41.

<sup>284</sup>Eustathii Hexaemeri Metaphrasis Liber VI, 4 (Migne, P. L., 30.927).

<sup>285</sup>De Signis 29 (I give Hort's translation, in The Loeb Classical Library). The signs given by the swelling sea and the echoing beach are recorded in Geoponica 1.11.7.

The same author<sup>286</sup> states that a loud voice heard in a harbor and reechoed many times is a sign of storm.

Pliny the Elder<sup>287</sup> gives additional signs. If in a harbor a tranquil sea flows hither and thither and murmurs, it heralds wind. Such action in winter means rain. If amid tranquility shores and banks resound, a severe storm is indicated. When there are sounds along the shore while the sea is calm or when foam is scattered and waters bubble, there will be a heavy storm. During stillness the sea often swells and being blown (*inflatum*) higher than usual reveals that there are winds upon it.

Apropos of the last sentence one may quote from Thoreau<sup>288</sup>:

... Also the captain of a packet between this country and England told me that he sometimes met with a wave on the Atlantic coming against the wind, perhaps in a calm sea, which indicated that at a distance the wind was coming from an opposite quarter, but the undulation had traveled faster than it.

Vergil's long list of weather signs<sup>289</sup> has a few that are pertinent to this part of my paper<sup>290</sup>:

Continuo ventis surgentibus aut freta ponti  
incipiunt agitata tumescere et aridus altis  
montibus audiri fragor, aut resonantia longe  
litora misceri et nemorum increbrescere murmur<sup>291</sup>.

With these verses may be compared a longer passage from Lucan<sup>292</sup>:

Niger inficit horror<sup>293</sup>  
terga maris: longo per multa volumina tractu<sup>294</sup>  
aestuat unda minax flatuque incerta futuri:  
turbida testantur conceptos aequora ventos.  
Tum rector trepidae fatur ratis: "Adspice saevom  
quanta paret pelagus. Zephyros intendat an Euros  
incertum est. Puppim dubius ferit undique pontus.  
Nubibus et caelo Notus est: si murmura ponti  
consulimus, Cauri verrunt mare. Gurgite tanto  
nec ratis Hesperias tanget nec naufragus oras".

The words *murmura ponti* recall the modern expression, "song of the sea"<sup>295</sup>:

Along the Moray Firth the fishermen call the noise of the waves "the song of the sea." If the song is towards the east the wind will shortly blow from east or south-east. If a "long song" is heard from the bar at Banff, the wind will blow from the west<sup>296</sup>.

In antiquity there was a saying that, when a south wind was going to blow among the Aeolian Islands, a 'premonitory sound' was heard in the places from which the blasts issued<sup>297</sup>.

When at sea a sudden calm occurs during a wind, it indicates a change or an increase of wind<sup>298</sup>. When water gleams or flashes on the oars at night, there will be a storm<sup>299</sup>.

<sup>286</sup>De Signis 40.

<sup>287</sup>18.359. See also Breysig, 220.

<sup>288</sup>The Wellfleet Oysterman, Cape Cod, 116 (Riverside Edition).

<sup>289</sup>Georgics 1.351-464. <sup>290</sup>Georgics 1.356-359.

<sup>291</sup>Compare Lucan 5.551-552 Sed mihi nec motus nemorum nec litoris ictus... placet. ...

<sup>292</sup>5.564-573.

<sup>293</sup>Compare Homer, Iliad 7.64-65; Vergil, Aeneid 3.194-195.

<sup>294</sup>Compare Homer, Iliad 14.16-19.

<sup>295</sup>Gregor, 155 (see note 11, above).

<sup>296</sup>Many signs derived from the noises of the sea, so far as they are connected with winds, have already been given in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24.23. Still other parallels may be found in a paper by J. Rouch, La Prévision du Temps dans Virgile, Revue Générale des Sciences Pures et Appliquées, 42 (1931), 19-25. This article has to do with the weather signs recounted in Vergil, Georgics 1, but it contains some material that is pertinent to my paper.

<sup>297</sup>Aristotle, Meteorologica 2.8, 367 a.

<sup>298</sup>Theophrastus, De Signis 31.

<sup>299</sup>Bede, De Natura Rerum 36. See also Breysig, 220; there rudders are included.

An interesting local item is recorded of the mart and promontory called 'Spices' (*Ἀρώματα*, i. e. Cape Guardafui). Here a ground-swell made the anchorage dangerous at times because the place was exposed to the north. When the deep water became turbid and changed its color, everybody knew that a storm was approaching and ships sought refuge in a recess of a promontory called Tabae<sup>290</sup>.

With this sign may be contrasted one given by Thoreau<sup>291</sup>, who says that there will be a change from calm to storm when one can see through water to unusually great depths.

... If promontories seem to stand high out of the sea, or a single island looks like several, it indicates a change to south wind. If the land looks black from the sea, it indicates a north wind, if white, a south wind....<sup>292</sup>

The harbingers of wind which I listed in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24.22 would hardly have proved of much use to those at sea. Of course, the Etesian Winds were closely watched by the ancients. A north wind meant fair voyaging from the Euxine Sea to Greece<sup>293</sup>.

(To be concluded)

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## CLASSICAL ARTICLES IN NON-CLASSICAL PERIODICALS

### II

*Mercure de France*—March 15, *Archéologie*, Charles Merki [Reviews, favorable, of Camille Mauclair, *La Majesté de Rome*, and of Martial Douët, *Forums et Basiliques* (a book concerning Roman Africa)]; April 15, *Lettres Néo-Grecques*, D. Astériotis [this article contains reviews of several works by modern Greek authors]; May 1, *Sappho*, *Prêtresse d'Aphrodite*, Jean Larnac et Robert Salmon [this article enters into a discussion of Sappho's true character].  
*Metropolitan Museum Studies*—Volume IV, Part II, Lydos, Gisela M. A. Richter ["To judge by his output as we know it, Lydos was an artist of marked individuality, with a bold, broad, and yet highly finished style. He was able to decorate successfully large vases, but was also interested in more delicate work, like the oinochoë in Berlin. Stylistically he belongs to the decade from 550 to 540 B. C.... At all events Lydos was evidently one of the numerous Easterners who migrated to Athens during the rule of Peisistratos, became thoroughly acclimated to their Attic environment, and by their work added a new luster to Athenian art". The article is accompanied by twenty Figures and one inserted Plate of illustrations]; On the Statue of Protesilaos in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Oscar Waldhauer [the article is accompanied by seven illustrations]; The Temple of Apollo at Bassae, William B. Dins-

moor [a long discussion of some of the architectural and decorative problems connected with the temple at Bassae, which "still holds within its ordinary columnar shell more fantastic problems than any other building, I think we may say, of the Greek world". The article is accompanied by twenty-two Figures and two inserted Plates of illustrations]; *Classical Mythology in Mediaeval Art*, Erwin Panofsky and Fritz Saxl [the article, accompanied by sixty illustrations, gives special attention to representations of Hercules, Perseus, Mercury, and scenes from the Trojan War].

*The Nation*—April 26, Brief review, favorable, anonymous, of Babette Deutsch, *Mask of Silenus: A Novel About Socrates*.

*The New Republic*—April 5, Brief reviews, uncritical, anonymous, of M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities*, and M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Out of the Past of Greece and Rome*; April 12, Review, unfavorable, by A. M. Harmon, of T. E. Shaw, *The Odyssey of Homer*, Newly Translated into English Prose; Brief review, generally favorable, anonymous, of Babette Deutsch, *Mask of Silenus: A Novel About Socrates*; May 3, Brief review, favorable, anonymous, of A. E. Taylor, *Socrates*; June 7, Brief review, mildly favorable, anonymous, of *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Volume IX.

*Bulletin of the New York Public Library*—April, First English Translation of the *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, Victor H. Paltsits [a favorable review of E. L. Stevenson, *Geography of Claudius Ptolemy*, Translated into English and Edited].

*The Nineteenth Century and After*—April, What Should We Teach?, Guy Boas [the article contains several pointed remarks on the study of Greek and Latin]; The Influence of the Spice Trade on World History, Sir Percy Sykes.

*Nuova Antologia* (Rome)—February 1, *Filologia Classica*, Augusto Rostagni [Review, favorable, of Ettore Romagnoli, *I Poeti Greci Tradotti: I Poeti Lirici*; Review, qualifiedly favorable, of J. M. Edmonds, *Elegy and Iambus with the Anacreontea*; Review, qualifiedly favorable, of Bruno Lavagnini, *Nuova Antologia dei Frammenti della Lirica Greca*]; May 1, In Margine al Congresso di Diritto Romano, Pietro de Francisci; Rievocazioni del Teatro Classico, Biagio Pace; May 16, Congressi, Giuseppe Ceccarelli [a report of the Terzo Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani, held at Rome, April 22-27, 1933].

*Proceedings of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences*—May, A Suggestion Concerning Plato's Atlantis, W. A. Heidel [the accounts of the Island of Atlantis in Plato's *Timaeus* (21 E-25 D) and *Critias*, which are clearly intended as fiction, should be studied in the light of certain passages of Herodotus, notably 2.142-143 and 2.102-106. The "entire Greek tradition regarding Egypt, and especially regarding the Egyptian priests, ... was from beginning to end the vehicle of Greek speculations .... The complex of motifs in the stories of Solon and Hecataeus in Egypt points unmistakably to the <early Greek> historico-geographical line of tradition,

<sup>290</sup>Periplus Maris Erythraei 12. <This work may be consulted in a volume entitled Periplus of the Erythraean Sea. Travel and Trade in the Indian Ocean by a Merchant of the First Century. Translated from the Greek and Annotated by Wilfred H. Schoff (London and New York, Longmans, Green and Co., 1912). C. K.>

<sup>291</sup>The Beach Again, Cape Cod, 150 (Riverside Edition).  
<sup>292</sup>Theophrastus, *De Signis* 31 (I give A. Hort's translation, in The Loeb Classical Library).  
<sup>293</sup>Xenophon, *Anabasis* 5.7.7.



- which concerned itself to a surprising extent with Egypt. We may be sure that Plato found in it the inspiration for his fiction of Atlantis"].
- Publications of the Modern Language Association of America—June, The Classical Scholarship of Francis Meres, Don C. Allen [after an exposition of "the sources of Meres's classical allusions" the author concludes that "it should be apparent from this account that Meres's statements about Greek and Latin poets were at second hand"].
- The Quarterly Journal of Speech—June, Review, mildly favorable, by Walter H. Stainton, of Irene Mawer, The Art of Mime: Its History and Technique in Education and the Theatre; Review, favorable, by W. E. Waltz, of André Boulanger, Aelius Aristide et la Sophistique dans la Province d'Asie au II<sup>e</sup> Siècle de Notre Ere; Review, favorable, by W. P. Sandford, of Carolus Halm, Rhetores Latini Minores (1863).
- Revue de l'Histoire des Religions—January-February, Long review, favorable, by J. C., of P. Monceaux, Saint Jérôme: Sa Jeunesse, L'Étudiant, L'Ermite; Review, favorable, by R. Dussaud, of A. Delatte, La Catoptronomie Grecque et Ses Dérivés.
- Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France—October-December (1932), L'Inceste dans Phèdre (Réponse à M. H. Jacobet), G.-H. Gifford.
- La Revue de Paris—March 15, L'Histoire, A. Albert-Petit [this contains a review, uncritical, of M. Festugières, L'Idéal Religieux des Grecs et L'Evangile, and Louis Gernet and André Boulanger, Le Génie Grec dans la Religion].
- Revue Historique—January-February, Long review, favorable, by Jean Gagé, of Jérôme Carcopino, Sylla ou la Monarchie Manquée.
- The Romanic Review—January-March, Review, qualifiedly favorable, by Arpad Steiner, of Henri F. Muller and Pauline Taylor, A Chrestomathy of Vulgar Latin.
- The Saturday Review of Literature—April 15, Review, unfavorable, by William R. Benét, of F. L. Lucas, Ariadne <a narrative poem>; Mr. Rascoe Replies, Burton Rascoe [a letter which criticizes very adversely Miss Edith Hamilton's book, The Roman Way]; April 29, Review, favorable, by Ernest S. Bates, of Rebecca West, St. Augustine; A Letter from Greece, George Panon [this is a discussion of Modern Greek books and authors]; May 6, Review, favorable, by Arthur D. Nock, of M. Rostovtzeff, Caravan Cities (translated by D. Rice and T. Talbot Rice); May 20, Review, unfavorable, by C. A. Robinson, Jr., of Arthur Weigall, Alexander the Great.
- School and Society—March 18, Correction of Enunciation by the Study of Foreign Languages, Mildred Dean ["In this field the study of Latin can be and often is pre-eminently successful in establishing proper habits. Its pronunciation is simpler, its spelling more phonetic from the point of view of an English-speaking person than that of any of the other foreign languages offered in our schools"]; May 13, What is the Matter with the Teaching of Modern Foreign Languages?, K. A. Sarafian; June 3, Reviews, favorable, by William McAndrew, of John Buchan, Julius Caesar, and of Cyril E. Robinson, A History of the Roman Republic.
- Scientia—April, Review, favorable, by G. Seregni, of A. Berthelot, L'Asie Ancienne Centrale et Sud-Orientale d'après Ptolémée; Review, generally favorable, by G. Seregni, of W. Rehm, Der Untergang Roms in Abendländischen Denken: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichtsschreibung und zum Dekadenzproblem; June, Les Marées dans la Science Antique, D. Eginitis; Review, favorable, by A. Visconti, of G. May, Éléments de Droit Romain à l'Usage des Étudiants des Facultés de Droit<sup>18</sup>.
- Scientific American—March, From the Archaeologist's Note Book ["Rediscovery of Old Rome; Tutankhamen's Wife; Egyptian Tomb Models; A Household Group". The brief text explains five photographic illustrations]; April, The Glory of Persian Art, Hidden as the Result of a Drunken Orgy; Uncovered by American Archaeologists [the article, accompanied by five photographic illustrations, deals with excavations made by the Oriental Institute's Persian Expedition at the site of ancient Persepolis].
- Sewanee Review—April-June, Review, favorable, of Lion Feuchtwanger, Josephus (translated by Willa Muir and Edwin Muir).
- Studies in Philology—April, Spenser's Venus and the Goddess Nature of the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*, Josephine W. Bennett [the author believes "that, like the account of the garden of Adonis, the *Cantos of Mutabilitie*, interpreted as an expression of Lucretian materialism, present no more than a mélange of discordant theories, while, if we patiently read ourselves back into the Platonic atmosphere in which we know that Spenser moved and thought, we find these same *Cantos* presenting a consistent and unified discussion of a serious Platonic problem"]; The Realism of Shakespeare's Roman Plays, John W. Draper [the three Roman plays, Julius Caesar, Anthony and Cleopatra, and Coriolanus, "present no significantly Elizabethan characters or situations; for Shakespeare, especially in the latter two, was following Plutarch very closely". Shakespeare "seems to have had a narrow course to steer between the classical accuracy demanded by the *élite* and a concrete, sharp lucidity demanded by the general; ... it would appear that Jonson had shown the way to a more sophisticated presentation of Roman life, and that Shakespeare was willing to risk being 'caviar to the general' in order to follow the growing demands of the 'judicious', whose opinion to him outweighed 'a whole theatre of others'"].
- The Times Literary Supplement (London)—March 9, Review, favorable, of R. E. M. Wheeler and T. V. Wheeler, Report on the Excavations of the Pre-Historic, Roman, and Post-Roman Site in Lydney Park, Gloucestershire; March 16, Review, favorable, of J. Holland Rose, The Mediterranean in the Ancient World; March 23, Review, favorable, of Stanley Casson, The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture; Review, mildly unfavorable, of P. K. Guha, Tragic Relief; Brief review, favorable, of A. M. Scarre, An Introduction to Liturgical Latin;

March 30, Review, generally favorable, of Ernest A. Gardner, *Greece and the Aegean*; Review, generally favorable, of Leslie W. Jones, *The Script of Cologne from Hildebald to Hermann*; Recent Excavations in Rome and Italy, I, Mrs. Arthur Strong [the article deals principally with the excavations along the routes of the new Via dell' Impero and Via del Mare in Rome]; April 6, Review, favorable, of C. Ernest Payle, *A Short History of the World's Shipping Industry*; Recent Excavations in Rome and Italy, II: Outside Rome, Mrs. Arthur Strong [a summary of the results of recent excavations at Ostia, Nemi, Ardea, Anzio, Herculaneum, Pompeii, Cumae, and in Etruria and north Italy]; April 13, Review, favorable, of Douglas Bush, *Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry*; Brief review, favorable, of Hans E. Stier, *Aus der Welt des Pergamonaltars*; Brief review, generally favorable, of Paul Monceaux, *St. Jerome: The Early Years* (translated by F. J. Sheed); April 27, Review, generally favorable, of Marcus N. Tod, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century B. C.*; Brief review, favorable, of Sir William Smith, *A Smaller Latin-English Dictionary* (revised edition by J. F. Lockwood); Brief review, generally favorable, of Albert G. Mackinnon, *The Rome of the Early Church*; Brief review, favorable, of Paul Shorey, *What Plato Said*; May 4, Review, qualifiedly favorable, of Charles Seltman, *Greek Coins*; Review, generally favorable, of G. F. Hill and Stanley Robinson, *A Guide to the Principal Coins of the Greeks*

<in the British Museum>; Brief review, favorable, of J. G. Milne, University of Oxford, Ashmolean Museum: *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins*; May 11, Review, favorable, of Nis Petersen, *The Street of the Sandalmakers* (translated by Elizabeth Sprigge and Claude Napier: an historical novel laid in the time of Marcus Aurelius); Review, favorable, of Cyril Bailey, *Phases in the Religion of Ancient Rome*; Review, favorable, of J. U. Powell, *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature, Third Series*; Brief review, favorable, of *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, No. XXXI; Brief review, generally favorable, of William S. Ferguson, *Athenian Tribal Cycles in the Hellenistic Age*; Brief review, favorable, of Benjamin D. Meritt, *Athenian Financial Documents of the Fifth Century*; Brief review, generally favorable, of H. D. F. Kitto, *In the Mountains of Greece*; May 18, Review, generally favorable, of Gilbert Murray, *Aristophanes: A Study*; May 25, Review, favorable, of J. D. S. Pendlebury, *A Handbook to the Palace of Minos at Knossos*; *Greek Coins*, Charles Seltman [a letter concerning the review of his book, *Greek Coins*, in the issue of May 4].

*The University Record* (University of Chicago)—April, *The Oriental Institute's Research in Persia* [the article, accompanied by four photographic illustrations, concerns the excavations made at the site of Persepolis, the ancient capital of Persia].

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